I: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:172) reported that the *Alacaluf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*. 372 [439]

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche;* our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini. 114

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:152) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal!]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1873, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique. [836] 582 583 585 [771] 591

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:152), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see *Poya*, p. 160); nor is either the sororate or levirate. 595

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for. 593 837 586 606 588

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1853, p. 180). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–185). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 296) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard. [551] 576

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toldo cleanliness; 575 356

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

description as given by Fitzroy, as that of a Devon cow. The naturally scanty growth of beard and moustache is carefully eradicated with a pair of silver tweezers, by the aid of a small piece of looking-glass. Some of the men would be considered handsome in any country, and the lively good-humoured expression of their countenances when in their own homes contrasts strongly with the sullen and downcast expression assumed by them when in the settlements. In the prospect of a fight, however, their expression changed altogether, their glaring eyes and altered features manifesting unrestrained ferocity.

The women, when young, are of prepossessing appearance; when not disfigured by paint displaying ruddy complexions and well cut features. Their hair is comparatively coarser, and though uncut, appears almost shorter than that of the men. They attain puberty at an early age—probably about thirteen years—are frequently married at fifteen years of age, and, from exposure and hard work, speedily become aged.

The dress of the men consists of a waistcloth or chiripa, either of linen, poncho, or a piece of old mantle; but, whatever the material, this article of dress is indispensable. I would remark, in passing, that they scrupulously regard decency both in their persons and habits. The rest of their dress consists of a mantle, about six feet square, made of the skins of the young or, by preference, unborn guanaco, or even of those of the skunk, fox, eamy, or wild cat. The mantle is secured round the waist by a girdle or belt, frequently ornamented with silver, in which the tobacco pouch, knife and ostrich bolas are secured. Their feet are protected by Potro boots made of the skin stripped from the thigh and hock of a horse, or large puma; over these they sometimes wear overshoes made of the skin from the hock of the guanaco. As may be imagined, the footmarks made by them when thus shod would be abnormally large, which gave origin to the name "Patagon," applied to them by early Spanish navigators. They go bareheaded, their flowing locks being confined by a fillet plaited from any unravelled yarn obtained from ponchos procured in barter with their Araucanian neighbours, or from cloth or flannel from the settlements. The women wear a loose calico or stuff sacque extending from the shoulder to the ankle, and over this a guanaco mantle, secured a little below the throat with a silver pin ornamented with a large disk, or, if they are very poor, with a nail, or thorn from the algarroba tree; they also wear when travelling broad belts ornamented with blue beads or copper or silver studs sewn on to the hide; boots of horsehide similar to those worn by the men, with the exception that the hair is left on. The women are fond of ornaments consisting of huge earrings and necklaces of silver or blue beads; the men also wear

5: Bourne T-5 (1849) 1874
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583 but, as he seemed more communicative, I swallowed my
584 doubts, and questioned him further. "What does poor Indian say?"

"Says he'll steal plenty horses when we get where they are, and give the woman plenty of grease. Says he is a good hunter, good thief."

These high titles to consideration did not seem to be admitted by the party they were offered to conciliate; on the contrary, the chief pronounced him a sleepy mink-skin of a fellow, — no thief at all; one that would never own a horse in the world. This opinion, which he was good enough to favor me with, he communicated to the party chiefly concerned, telling him that he was a poor, good-for-nothing Indian, he should not have the woman, and that was the end of it. After a little more jabber, and abundance of wrangling, the mob dispersed, much to my relief. Satisfied, by further conversation on the subject with old Parosilver, whose triumph over the mutiny had put him into better temper than usual, that the affair did not imminently concern my safety or welfare, I lay down to rest.

582 In answer to further inquiries, — for I must plead guilty to a good deal of curiosity in respect of the poor Indian and his blasted hopes, — I was informed that without the chief's consent no marriage was permitted; that, in his judgment, no Indian who was not an accomplished rogue, — particularly in the horse-stealing line, — an expert hunter, able to provide plenty of meat and grease, was fit to have a wife on any terms. He never gave his consent for such lazy ones to take an extra rib; but, he very considerately added, all the difference it made was that some

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
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one else had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his *coury*, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast; then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The gay deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the *cioloty* wigwam, under the effect of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the *contract* of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the *ceremony* is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the festivity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalising my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-